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DRAFTED BY NEA/PAB:RAPECK/NH APPROVED BY NEA:ALATHERTON PM/SAS:TSTERN (DRAFT) ACDA:WSTEARMAN (DRAFT) S/S-O: P. SHANKLE

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S E C R E T STATE 094144 TOSEC 100032 EXDIS FROM ATHERTON

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, PK, US

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM - STATUS REPORT ON ARMS SALES TO PAKISTAN (S/S NO. 7608166)

- 1. DURING YOUR MEETING WITH PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR YAQUB ON APRIL 12 THE QUESTION AROSE OF ADCA'S EFFORTS TO HOLD UP CERTAIN PAKISTANI ARMS CASES AND YOU ASKED FOR A REPORT ON THIS MATTER BY THE END OF THE WEEK. ACDA HAS NOW WITH-DRAWN ITS OBJECTIONS TO THE IMMEDIATE FMS CASES IN QUESTION, AN LOA FOR TOW MISSILES AND A LARGE AMMUNITION LOA. THESE WILL SHORTLY GO TO CONGRESS UNDER OUR NOTIFICATION PROCEDURES.
- 2. FOR YOUR INFORMATION, ACDA WAS ARGUING THAT WE SHOULD SUSPEND ALL ACTION ON ARMS TRANSFERS TO PAKISTAN UNTIL THE ISSUE OF PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR REPROCESSING PROJECT WAS SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVED. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT ACDA'S INITIATIVE WAS PREMATURE. FOLLOWING THE RECEIPT OF BHUTTO'S RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER, WE MUST NOW SECRET

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CONSIDER IN AN ORDERLY FASHION THE OPTIONS AVAILABLE TO US

IN PURSUING THE MATTER FURTHER. ACDA'S ACTION IN WITHDRAWING ITS OBJECTIONS ON THESE TWO CASES WAS TAKEN ON THE

UNDERSTANDING THAT THE QUESTION OF ARMS TRANSFERS AS LEVERAGE ON BHUTTO WILL BE FULLY CONSIDERED AND PRESENTED TO YOU AS PART OF AN OPTIONS PAPER. ACDA WILL, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO OPPOSE CLEARANCE FOR ROUTINE PAKISTANI CASES UNTIL THE LARGER QUESTION OF OUR NUCLEAR STRATEGY WITH PAKISTAN IS RESOLVED (THERE ARE NO IMPORTANT CASES REQUIRING ACDA CLEARANCE WHICH WILL IMMEDIATELY BE HELD UP BY THIS DECISION.)

- 3. IN RESPONSE TO YAQUB'S COMPLAINT TO YOU OVER DELAYS, WE HAVE ALSO REVIEWED THE STATUS OF ALL PAKISTANI ARMS REQUESTS TO DATE. THE PAKISTANIS ARE CORRECT IN SAYING THAT THE NEW ARMS POLICY HAS SO FAR YIELDED FEW RESULTS; THE ONLY MAJOR NEW DELIVERY HAS BEEN THE ADVANCE SALE OF A SMALL QUANTITY OF TOW MISSILES FOR TRAINING PURPOSES WHICH YOU PERSONALLY AUTHORIZED. AS YAQUB ACKNOWLEDGED, HOWEVER, THERE HAVE BEEN SOME PROBLEMS ON BOTH SIDES. STARTING FROM SCRATCH AFTER A TEN-YEAR HIATUS HAS REQUIRED US TO WORK THROUGH A LENGTHY PROCESS OF ASSEMBLING P AND A DATA, SECURING NATIONAL DISCLOSURE POLICY EXCEPTIONS, AND THEN GETTING ALL THE REQUIRED CLEARANCES FOR THE LOA'S, WHICH IN MANY CASES NOW INCLUDE CONGRESSIONAL NOTIFICATION. IN THE CASE OF TWO GEARING CLASS DESTROYERS, WE EVEN REQUIRE CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATION. I AM SATISFIED THAT IN ALL BUT A FEW CASES THERE HAVE BEEN NO AVOIDABLE DELAYS FROM THE USG SIDE.
- 4. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN LONG DELAYS ON MOST CASES DUE TO PAKISTANI INDECISION AS TO WHAT AND HOW MUCH THEY WANT, AS WELL AS IN MAKING THE REQUIRED DOWNPAYMENTS. SOME OF THIS IS DUE TO THEIR UNFAMILIARITY WITH THE FMS SYSTEM, AND WE HAVE TRIED TO RECTIFY THIS BY INVITING A PROCUREMENT TEAM HERE LAST FALL. THE RESULTS IN IMPROVED PAKISTANI MESHING WITH OUR SYSTEM HAVE BEEN CONSIDERABLE, AND WE ARE NOW FOLLOWING UP BY SENDING A REPRESENTATIVE FROM GEN. FISH'S STAFF TO PAKISTAN TO IRON OUT ANY CONTINUING PROBLEMS. WE PROBABLY CANNOT, HOWEVER, GET AT ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL RESECRET

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STRAINTS ON OUR DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIP--PAKISTANI LACK OF FUNDS. YAQUB'S COMPLAINT TO YOU PARTLY REFLECTS GROWING FRUSTRATION ON THIS MATTER.

- 5. FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF WHERE WE ARE ON THE PRINCIPAL PAKISTANI ARMS REQUESTS:
- -- TOW MISSILES: INITIAL DELIVERY COMPLETE WITH SECOND

TRANCHE LOA NOW ON ITS WAY TO CONGRESS.

- -- AMMUNITION: DOLS 36 MILLION LOA READY TO GO TO CON-GRESS PENDING SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM THE GOP.
- -- APC'S: CASE UNDER PREPARATION; DELAYED DUE TO PAK INDECISION.
- -- TRUCKS (VARIOUS MODELS): MOST LOA'S OFFERED WERE TURNED DOWN; THE GOP IS BEHIND ON PAYMENTS FOR OTHERS.
- -- ARTILLERY: LOA UNDER PREPARATION.
- -- HUEY HELICOPTERS: LOA FOR 10 WITH GOP, PENDING ITS DECISION
- -- T-37 AIRCRAFT: 18 AIRCRAFT ON UNUSUAL LOAN ARRANGEMENT WILL ARRIVE SHORTLY; LOA'S ON ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT PROVIDED PAKISTAN, BUT TRANSACTION HELD UP WHILE PAKISTAN NEGOTIATES REMOVAL OF AGENT'S FEES.
- -- AIM-9 MISSILES (SIDEWINDER): PAKISTAN WILL BUY COMMERCIALLY.
- -- AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM: INITIAL USAF SURVEY COMPLETED; LOA FOR MORE FORMAL ANALYSIS OF PAKISTANI NEEDS UNDER PREPARATION
- -- HAWK MISSILES: ESTIMATED P AND A DATA PROVIDED, BUT GOP NOT ACTIVELY CONSIDERING PURCHASE BECAUSE OF COST.
- -- MARK 46 TORPEDOS: LOA WILL GO OUT IN NEXT FEW DAYS.

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- -- MINESWEEPERS: LOA FOR TWO SHIPS NOW WITH CONGRESS.
- -- GEARING CLASS DESTROYERS: LEGISLATION FOR TWO SHIP TRANSFERS WITH OMB FOR CLEARANCE PRIOR TO SUBMISSION TO CONGRESS.
- 6. IN A RELATED DEVELOPMENT, THE NAVY HAS RECONSIDERED ITS EARLIER REFUSAL TO RELEASE THE JEZEBEL SYSTEM (AN ASW SONIC BUOY) INSTALLED IN THREE NATO MARITIME PATROL AIR-CRAFT FRANCE SOLD TO PAKISTAN. IF THE INTERAGENCY NATIONAL DISCLOSURE POLICY COMMITTEE CONCURS, THIS WILL REMOVE A MAJOR IRRITANT IN OUR ARMS RELATIONSHIP. IN SUM, WE HAVE BEEN ABOUT AS RESPONSIVE WITH THE PAKISTANIS AS OUR SYSTEM ALLOWS AND THE RENEWED ARMS RELATIONSHIP IS NOW BEGINNING TO YIELD SOME CONCRETE RESULTS FOR THE GOP. I PLAN TO

CALL IN AMBASSADOR YAQUB NEXT WEEK TO BRIEF HIM ON THE RESULTS OF THIS REVIEW.

7. DRAFTED BY NEA/PAB:RAPECK. CLEARED: PM/SAS:TSTERN, ACDA:WSTEARMAN. ROBINSON

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER, SHANKLE S/S-O.

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